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Date Printed: 12/31/1997 DOC NUMBER: 92KIGALI03622  
FileName : ...t/t92085/aaaaadfe.tel

CHANNEL: n/a

268

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	PFIP-01	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10
	SNP-01	SP-01	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/038W
				-----5BA76B 311001Z /38			

P 310957Z AUG 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1635  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 03622

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PGOV, RW  
SUBJECT: ARUSHA III

REF: A) KIGALI 3596 B) KIGALI 2919

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. GOR PLANNERS ARE SEARCHING FOR A POWER SHARING  
FORMULA FOR THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON CHANGES  
TO THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT PROTOCOL OF APRIL 16.  
THEY WONDER IF THE RPF WILL WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN  
THE PROCESS AS AN INDEPENDENT PARTY OR TO JOIN WITH  
EXISTING PARTIES, AND WARN THAT THEY MUST WALK A VERY  
FINE LINE TO SATISFY RPF DEMANDS FOR SHARED POWER  
WITHOUT GENERATING A POLITICAL BACKLASH AND PROBABLE  
ETHNIC VIOLENCE. END SUMMARY.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW

AUTHORITY: ROBERT R. STRAND

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3. DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET ENOCH RUHIGIRA CAME TO THE RESIDENCE SATURDAY TO TALK ABOUT THE NEXT ROUND OF THE ARUSHA TALKS.

RPF GOALS  
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4. ACCORDING TO ENOCH THE RWANDANS ARE NOT YET CONVINCED THAT THE RPF IS GOING TO BE SATISFIED WITH POWER SHARING, REGARDLESS OF THE FORM IN WHICH IT IS OFFERED. POWER SHARING DID NOT APPEAR TO BE THE RPF GOAL AT THE TIME OF THE INVASION IN OCTOBER 1990. NEVERTHELESS, ENCOURAGED BY THE SUCCESS OF THE CEASEFIRE AND BY THE RPF WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT IN ADVANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE GOR IS TRYING TO PUT TOGETHER A PACKAGE THAT WILL ANSWER THE STATED OBJECTIVES OF RPF NEGOTIATORS.

5. ENOCH SAID THAT IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW THE RPF WOULD BE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN A NEW COALITION GOVERNMENT. DO THEY WISH TO ESTABLISH THEMSELVES AS AN INDEPENDENT PARTY IN RWANDA, OR WOULD THEY SEEK TO  
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ATTACH THEMSELVES TO OTHER PARTIES? THE FORMER HAS OBVIOUS SECURITY RISKS FOR THE RPF. THE LATTER, HOWEVER, MAY NOT BE SATISFACTORY TO THEM GIVEN THE EXISTING LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTIES.

INTERNAL POLITICS  
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6. UNSETTLED BY THE COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN HIS OWN PREFECTURE (KIBUYE), ENOCH IS VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE LIMITS ON THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE A GENEROUS POWER SHARING ARRANGEMENT. GIVING THE RPF TOO MUCH AUTHORITY WOULD TROUBLE THE MORE CONSERVATIVE PARTIES, THAT IS THE MRND AND THE CDR, BUT EVEN IF THE PARTIES THEMSELVES WERE TO ACCEPT SOMETHING WHICH SEEMED TO GIVE THE INVADERS TOO GREAT A ROLE, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE COULD WELL BE THE RESULT. IN HIS VIEW THE VERY NARROW LINE WHICH THE GOVERNMENT MUST NEGOTIATE IS NOT THE RESULT OF CDR PRESSURE OR OF HABYARIMANA'S RELUCTANCE, BUT THE RESULT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ETHNIC MISTRUST WHICH PERVADES THE SOCIETY. THAT GIVES HIM PAUSE, BUT IT DOES NOT DISCOURAGE HIM FROM TRYING.

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7. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE MDR, FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, TOLD ME THIS MORNING THAT THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS WERE GIVEN FULL SUPPORT IN THE MDR CONVENTION AUGUST 29 AND 30, AND THAT HE IS NOW VERY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE OUTCOME.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE OR A REVISED PROTOCOL  
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8. ENOCH IS PREPARED TO REOPEN THE PROTOCOL OF APRIL 16, BUT HOPES TO LIMIT THE CHANGE TO THOSE PROVISIONS NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH THE INCLUSION OF THE RPF IN A NEW TRANSITION GOVERNMENT.

9. OBVIOUSLY THE PROTOCOL WOULD HAVE TO BE AMENDED TO CHANGE THE BALANCE OF PORTFOLIOS BY PARTY. THIS IN ITSELF WILL BE TRICKY. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE RPF SHOULD DECIDE TO ENTER THE GOVERNMENT IN ITS OWN NAME AS AN INDEPENDENT PARTY, AND IF IT SHOULD RECEIVE

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THREE OR FOUR SEATS IN THE CABINET, MANY RWANDANS  
WOULD THEN BELIEVE THAT ITS THREE OR FOUR PLUS THE  
SEATS ALREADY HELD BY THE PL, WOULD GIVE THE  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TUTSI MINORITY NEARLY A THIRD  
OF THE GOVERNMENT. THIS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO  
MANY RWANDANS ACCORDING TO ENOCH.

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10. I TOLD ENOCH THAT EQUALLY DIFFICULT AND PERHAPS  
THE KEY TO THE ENTIRE NEGOTIATION WOULD BE ASSURING  
THE RPF THAT THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT  
WOULD GIVE THEM SOME REAL AUTHORITY, THAT IS, REAL  
SHARING OF POWER, AT A TIME WHEN SOME OPPOSITION  
PERSONALITIES FEEL THAT ULTIMATE POWER EVEN IN THE  
CURRENT COALITION RESTS WITH THE PRESIDENT.

11. ANOTHER PROBLEM IS THE CURRENT CLAMOR OF THE 11  
PARTIES WHICH ARE NOT IN THE GOVERNMENT TO BE  
INVOLVED IF THE APRIL 16 PROTOCOL IS REOPENED.  
ACCORDING TO ENOCH, THE GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO  
MAINTAIN THE FIVE PARTY FORMULA PLUS THE RPF, BUT NOT  
TO EXPAND THIS GOVERNMENT TO INCLUDE ALL 16 PARTIES.

TIMING

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12. ENOCH ALSO HOPES THAT DAVID RAWSON CAN COME TO

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KIGALI BEFORE THE SEPTEMBER 7 SESSION. HE EXPECTS  
THE NEGOTIATIONS TO BE LONG AND DRAWN OUT AND DOES  
NOT SEEM OPTIMISTIC THAT THEY WILL REACH AGREEMENT BY  
THE OCTOBER 10 DEADLINE. THE CABINET SESSION  
SEPTEMBER 1 IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN TO ADDRESS THE POWER  
SHARING IDEAS, BUT THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION ON  
NEGOTIATING POSITIONS WILL PROBABLY NOT EMERGE UNTIL  
LATE IN THE CABINET MEETING SEPTEMBER 4.

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